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The following information is taken from one of 28 commentaries made by dignitaries of the PZPR (United Polish Workers' Party) at the Seventh Plenum of its Central Committee, held 14 - 15 June 1952. Each of the commentaries is an amplification of President Bierut's opening speech and was presumably edited by Nowe Drogi.

In the following commentary, Jerzy Tepicht, director of the Institute of Agricultural Economics asserts that there should be no conflict between the collectivization movement and the movement to increase production of individual peasant farms.

In connection with Comrade Bierut's speech, I want to discuss the bond between the struggle to increase the production of individual peasant farms and the struggle to consolidate these individual farms into producers' cooperatives.

It became clear, especially between the Sixth and Seventh plenums, that we have occupied ourselves with one or the other in turn. We are not concerned with those who intentionally misinterpret the problem after the fashion of the kulaks, but with the great mass of conscientious comrades who work on various programs in spurts, not for lack of time as is generally assumed, but because they do not have the necessary skill to combine the two tasks. Often tasks which seem contradictory aim at the same goal. There is the purchasing plan and the plan of compulsory deliveries, since we must be assured of the minimum of farm products indispensable for the working class. We must also create a certain food reserve for the state and, at the same time, retain a margin for the free market. The opportunity to sell the surplus production above compulsory deliveries is an incentive to the individual peasant to increase production. Often we do not take into account the fact that these are two sides of the same policy. On the one hand, we are reaching deeper into the farm products' pool of the individual peasant; on the other, we reserve and even increase the incentive for a production surplus above compulsory deliveries. We must learn to

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unite these seemingly contradictory phenomena because only by understanding the connection can we adopt the proper policy. Increasing the production of individual peasant farms and consolidating them into producers' cooperatives become one problem. The USSR faced the same difficulties. Some could see only the task of increasing production on individual peasant farms, and others, seeing the difficulties involved and the opportunities presented to speculators, would have the party take over the individual peasant farms.

On the occasion of Frumkin's declaration, Comrade Stalin in a letter to the Politburo in 1928 said:

"Frumkin's basic fault is that he sees before him only one task, the task of improving individual peasant farms, and he assumes that, in principle, our interest in agriculture is confined to this.

"His fault is that he does not understand the new task which the party set before us at its Fifteenth Congress. He does not understand that the matter cannot be confined to the task of improving the individual peasant farm, but that to this must be added two new practical tasks, the development of the sovkhoz and the development of the kolkhoz.

"Frumkin does not understand that without uniting the first task with the other two we cannot solve the problem of supplying the state with grain products or organizing the entire national economy on a socialist basis.

"It does not mean that emphasis is shifted to the sovkhoz and the kolkhoz. It means that emphasis still remains on improving the individual small and medium peasant farms, but it also means that this task alone is not enough. It means that the time has come when we must supplement this task with two new tasks -- the development of the kolkhoz and the development of the sovkhoz."

In the 1951 grain purchases, individual farms in Poland contributed 76.8 percent (including millers' deductions), producers' cooperatives 6.1 percent, state farms 15.3 percent, and other socialized farms 1.8 percent. Already 25 percent of the grain required to feed the working class has been contributed by the socialized sector. It is clear that without this 25 percent we could not have resolved the situation. In the near future, the relative weight of the socialized sector in the common pool will increase at a more rapid pace.

Although progress in livestock breeding is much slower, some powiats have had good results. In Oborniki Powiat, the producers' cooperatives, including members' garden plots, are catching up with individual farms in livestock breeding. In 1951 they already had 18.5 milk cows per 100 hectares as compared to 22.7 on individual farms. Of these 18.5 milk cows, the members' garden plots accounted for 12.1 and the producers' cooperatives for 6.4, an increase of 30 percent for members' garden plots and 200 percent for the producers' cooperatives.

In the same powiat the number of cows on individual farms decreased from 23.2 to 22.7 per 100 hectares. It is clear that the struggle to increase individual farm production is not proceeding in line with the struggle to collectivize them. This situation exists in many other powiats. At times when a powiat cannot achieve certain plans it appeals directly to the public spirit of the cooperatives and gives up trying to persuade the small and medium peasants. Iulin, a leading producers' cooperative in the powiat mentioned above, has been required to emphasize industrial crops and sacrifice properly balanced production because the powiat authorities were unable to achieve the plan for individual peasant contracts.

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Regardless of mistakes, it is time certain figures of a nationwide character were put before the public.

For instance, if we divide the total 1950 wheat and rye production of individual peasant farms in Poland by the number of workers involved and the total wheat and rye production of collectives by the number of workers involved, the quota per worker in individual farms is 11.7 quintals and in collectives 14.8 quintals, despite the fact that a large part of the winter grain was harvested individually at that time. In wheat production alone, where this phenomenon did not occur in 1950, the ratio was 2.4 quintals per worker in individual farms and 6.6 quintals per worker in cooperatives. In beet production it was 8.4 quintals per worker in individual farms and 20.9 quintals per worker in collectives.

We must remember that millions of peasants operating individually are watching the cooperatives and debating whether or not to join. It is very important for producers' cooperatives to open booths at market places and sell their products directly to the consumer at market prices, not exorbitant prices, and rescue the worker from speculators. It will be of great propaganda value for the working class and the peasants to see that honest and profitable relations are possible between the village and the city on the basis of collectivized peasant production.

Regarding the relation between the struggle to increase individual farm production and the struggle to develop collectives, we must remember our obligation to assist the poor peasantry. Comrade Stalin, in dealing with the detractors of individual peasant farmers, said:

"These comrades make the mistake of setting the kolkhoz against the individual peasant farm. We do not wish to pit the two against each other but to link them together so the kolkhoz can assist the peasant and slowly win him over to collectivization; we do not wish the peasant to look on the collective as an enemy but as a friend who would assist him in gaining freedom from misery."

This is possible in Poland. We quote a letter received by Chlopskie Drog from Jedrzejow Powiat: "The people of Motycze Gmina and neighboring gminas ask assistance in the following problem. A decree has been issued on compulsory delivery of livestock but there is the problem of speculators. The farmer brings his product to market and is immediately surrounded by speculators who buy up all the pigs at 300 zlotys a pair and sell them a few hours later to the consumer at 600-800 zlotys. Although enraged, the consumer must pay the price. Such speculators make at least 1,000 zlotys a day to spend on high living and spreading hostile propaganda." The problem at the moment is not Jedrzejow, which for that matter may not have a producers' cooperative. (Not all producers' cooperatives can supply the individual farmer with pigs, but there are many which could supply the pigs at a decent price. There are also cooperatives which have an oversupply of horses and could assist the neighboring individual farms which have no horses.) The problem is to promote initiative, to persuade our cooperatives, which are mostly average ones limping along, to assist the poor peasantry in production, to help fight kulak exploitation, and gradually win them over to the cooperative.

To bridge the gap between the poor and medium individual peasant and the cooperative, the problems of increased production of individual peasant farms and their collectivization must become one and we must find a suitable way for each area.

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